

729 Crawford Ave

THE EFFECT OF POPULATION MOVEMENT
ON THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN UPPER BRONX

(A Study of the St. Mary of the Angels' Parish)

Study Conducted by
The Department of Church Planning and Research
of the
PROTESTANT COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
71 West 23rd Street, New York 10

Lee Gartrell, Exec. Sec. of Dept.
Miles Shishido, Researcher

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An Introduction.

This is a quick study in church-community relationship. It was undertaken in conjunction with a request from the New York Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Protestant Council of New York City for a study of the area in which one of its churches, St. Mary of the Angels, is located. The study was completed within the period of three weeks.

In order to understand the nature of the community and the changes taking place and their effects on the churches, the following major sources of information were examined: the 1950 United States Census of Population and 1957 U. S. Census, Characteristics of the Population by Health Areas New York City: 1950, several books on the histories of Bronx, Yonkers, and Mount Vernon, printed studies in the Department of Planning and Research of the Protestant Council of New York and the Council of Churches of Yonkers, and the Year Books of the various denominations. In addition, valuable sources of information were provided by the Mount Vernon Council of Churches, the Planning Commission of the City of Yonkers, the Planning Board of the City of Mount Vernon, the Department of Public Schools of the three cities, and the many denominational offices of Protestant Churches in New York City. Interviews were conducted with ministers and community leaders. Limitation of time prevented a wider coverage in interviews, a more thorough comparison of church and community data in establishing trends, and any attempt to secure data from Roman Catholic and Jewish organizations.

I. Study Area

A. BOUNDARY. The parish of St. Mary's of the Angels, for the purposes of this study, has been arbitrarily determined to include the area extending approximately one mile in each direction from the church. The church is situated on the extreme northern end of Bronx, but the parish, according to the above determination, extends into the southeastern tip of Yonkers and the southern section of Mount Vernon. Roughly, the boundaries are as follows: Putnam Street (Yonkers) and First Street (Mount Vernon) on the north; Van Cortland Park and Kimball Avenue on the west; East 233rd Street on the south; Fulton and Provost Avenues on the east. Minor adjustments have been made to these boundaries to make the study area coincide with the census tracts and thus to facilitate gathering of information from census reports.

B. HISTORY. The Bronx section of the study area includes two communities: Woodlawn in its entirety, and part of Edenwald. Comfortably nestled in the southwestern tip of the study area and surrounded by Van Cortland Park, Woodlawn Cemetery and Bronx River, is the community of Woodlawn, a middle class residential community. Originally called Washingtonville to commemorate Washington's storing of ammunition in this part of the city, its name was later changed to Wakefield, and more recently to Woodlawn. The cemetery from which the community takes its name is both choice and famous. Remains of American greats like Jay Gould, O.H.P. Belmont, F.H. Woolworth, Joseph Pulitzer, Charles Scribner, and Herman Melville grace this burial ground.

Edenwald, to the east of Woodlawn, was once the estate of the Seton Family, distinguished in New York Roman Catholic affairs, and from which Seton Park gets its name. The estate was eventually broken up for

subdivision and, today, the area is primarily a residential district. The religious affiliation of the Setons and the relatively large settlement of immigrants from Catholic countries--Ireland and Italy--may be purely coincidental.

In its northward reaches, Bronx imperceptibly merges into Yonkers and Mount Vernon. Except for the fact that most streets entering these two cities get called by different names, one can hardly detect when and where he has left Bronx. Even nearby residents have difficulty in indicating the boundary. Yet, even if the boundaries are not too obvious, there are subtle evidences here and there which, a careful observer will notice, mark off these three communities, especially that of Bronx and Mount Vernon.

Although the environs of Mount Vernon was sparsely settled during revolutionary and pre-revolutionary times, it was not until John Stevens and The Industrial Home Association No. 1 of New York City, which in 1850 bought and subdivided five farms, that Mount Vernon became "A City of Homes." Incorporated in 1853, it celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1953.

Yonkers has the special distinction of being the first city in Westchester County. Its history dates back to 1646, and reveals a changing loyalty from the Dutch to the English, and lastly, to the American. Yonkers gets its name from the first settler in this area, Jonkheer Adrian Van Der Doonk--Jonkheer meaning "Young Lord". As a farm land under Van Der Doonk's ownership, it was known as Jonkheer's land. The land passed over into the hands of Frederick Philipse after Van Der Doonk's demise, and then to Lemuel Wells. The death of Wells in 1842 brought about a subdivision of the land for residential and small industrial purposes. In recent years, Yonkers has become more and more a residence of those who work in New York.

II. Physical Characteristics.

A. GEOGRAPHY and TRANSPORTATION. Two rivers are to found within the study area--the Bronx River on the west and the Hutchinson River on the east, the latter being slightly outside the one-mile radius. The Bronx River and the Bronx River Parkway constitute a more formidable barrier to the movement of people between the separated areas than do the artificial barriers of boundaries. Although there are some who cross the Bronx River to attend church functions on the other side, the proportion is small. Thus, for practical purposes, the communities of Woodlawn and Yonkers cannot be seriously considered as areas from which potential members can be drawn by a church located about a mile away from the river, unless the church commands extraordinarily powerful and irresistible forces drawing people to it.

Transportation facilities in this area are somewhat complicated. Most of the commercial systems operate primarily within their respective cities and do not go too deeply into the other. Passengers entering another city by one bus line do not receive transfer privileges to continue their journey on the other side. Aside from this inconvenience, public transportation is fairly adequate. Two I.R.T. subway lines run up to the northern boundary of the Bronx, one terminating on White Plains Road and the other on Dyre Avenue. At the terminal passengers are met by buses from Mount Vernon. In addition, the area is served by cross town buses. Two railroad systems run through the area: New York Central Railroad along the Bronx River, and New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad dissecting Mount Vernon in half--north and south--after leaving the Bronx River at 241st Street.

B. LAND USE. The Bronx and Yonkers sections of the study area are primarily residential, commerce being limited to retail trade. The Mount Vernon section is also predominantly residential, but there are more intensive and varied business activities here than in the other two sections.

Business in Bronx is principally along White Plains Road, 233rd Street, 238th Street and on Katonah Avenue; and in Yonkers on McLean Avenue and Bronx River Road. Varied types of businesses are spread throughout the Mount Vernon study area but concentrated along First Street, Third Street, Sanford Boulevard, First Avenue, and Sixth Avenue. Industrial use of land is restricted to the south east section in Mount Vernon.

Vacant lots in sizeable chunks for single unit residences are to be found in Yonkers and also in the south eastern section of Mount Vernon. The northeastern section of Bronx has not been fully developed, and a great deal of land is zoned for unrestricted use. Rumors float around the neighborhood that the 1,000 acre unused land south of Boston Post Road might be developed into a housing project.

C. RESIDENCE. The more fashionable residences are to found in Woodlawn and Yonkers. Out of 2,773 dwelling units in the Yonkers section, according to the 1950 Census, 50 percent were owner occupied. One fourth of the total dwelling units were in buildings with five dwelling units or more. Out of 2,750 reporting the year built, 625 (23 percent) were erected before 1919. The highest proportion of dwelling units in structures built before 1919 is to be found in Mount Vernon, which gave 7,705 units out of 11,075 reporting, or 70 percent. Bronx, with 17 percent, registered the lowest percentage of dwelling units in such structures.*

* Cf. Table II for information on dwelling units.

The Yonkers section is zoned primarily for single and two-family residences, while the Mount Vernon section around the study area is zoned for multiple dwelling units.

There is a very active Planning Commission in Yonkers, and at the time of the study, the 1957 Census Report was being carefully studied as basis for development projection. Mount Vernon does not have a planning Commission, but is taking the matter of planning seriously under a Planning Board which just completed a revision of the city's zoning map. A low-income housing project was completed in 1950 under its guidance. It is located between Seventh and Ninth Avenues, and between Third and Fourth Streets, and consists of five ten-story apartment buildings accomodating 498 families at \$9 rental per room. Another housing project south of the present development is being contemplated. It is expected to house 220 families of the middle income group, the rental at \$15 per room.

Two buildings with multiple dwelling units have been constructed since 1955 in the ^{Bronx} study area, according to the Dodge Reports. The Woodlawn Veterans Co-operative Apartments has 100 suites, and the Wakefield Gardens Apartment House accomodates 200 families. Immediately south of the study area is the huge Edenwald Houses with 2,039 dwelling units and an estimated population of 7,938.

Rent is used as an index of income as well as of the desirability of residences. Yonkers had the highest median rent at \$52.76; Bronx was next at \$49.58; Mount Vernon's median rent was lowest at \$43.54.*

* Figures given as median rent in this report represent the averages of medians given in the Census Report by tracts.

III. Population Characteristics.*

A. AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION. The total population in the study area according to the 1950 Census, was 90,798--42,582 in Bronx; 38,689 in Mount Vernon; 9,527 in Yonkers.** There is no significant variation in the age-sex distribution pattern between the three sections of the study area, nor between the pattern here and that of the United States in general. Slight differences are to be seen in Mount Vernon where the female count is higher than the other two areas, and in Yonkers where there is a strong concentration of those between 45-59. Basically, the age-sex distribution reveals a healthy population.

B. INCOME. The median income*** for the three areas was as follows: Bronx, \$2,644; Yonkers \$4,929; and Mount Vernon \$3,294. These medians compare with the Manhattan median of \$2,347. The income figures reported can be very misleading if studied by themselves, for the income of unrelated individuals is considerably lower than that given by families. For instance, the median income by families for Health Area 510 was \$4,094; whereas, the median for unrelated individuals in the same area was \$1,477.

* The study area consists of the following U. S. Census Tracts: Bronx--410, 412, 1, 412.01, 414, 416, 418, 420, 449.0, 449.1, 451.0, 451.1, (Under Health Area 510); 422, 424, 426, 428, 430, 432, 436, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, (under Health Area 520); Yonkers--15; Mount Vernon--26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37. Census figures are from the 1950 U. S. Census by the Bureau of Census.

** The 1957 population figures for Bronx and Yonkers are given in Table XI, and discussed under the section on "Population Mobility." Table I gives the age-sex distribution for the three areas. While the study was being written, only the 1957 figures for Yonkers were available. The Bronx figures were not available until the study was almost completed.

*** The median income is derived by adding the medians given according to census tracts and averaging them. The more correct term would be "average median income." Also, the 1950 Census figures are on the basis of a 20 percent sample taken in 1949.

Thus the median might also indicate the number of unrelated individuals living in the area, and must be examined in the light of this and compared with the charts on marital status, education, and occupation for a more rounded picture of the people living in the area. (Cf. Table III for income data.)

C. MARITAL STATUS. Table IV indicates that out of 71,732 who were over 14 years of age, 17,630 (24.6 percent) were single, and 6,376 (8.9 percent) were either divorced or widowed. This compares with the widowed or divorced percentage in the United States of 9.8 percent, and the Manhattan percentage of 12.4. The highest percentage of divorced or widowed is found in the Mount Vernon section of the study area with 9.2 percent. However, comparatively speaking, the family structure within the study area does not differ significantly from the United States pattern.

One qualification must be made at this point. Census figures do not indicate the number of foster children. It was pointed out in one of the interviews that the presence of many foster children in one part of the Mount Vernon study area immensely complicates the social situation. In their desire to move into a relatively expensive residential area in Mount Vernon, many colored families have followed a pattern of adopting children from friends or relatives so that additional income might be available to help pay for the new home. Of course, from the point of view of the Welfare Department, the new home and environment might be infinitely more desirable than the former residence of their wards. Whatever may be the relative advantages of the new residence, an overwhelming number of adopted children does complicate the family structure. It has been estimated that out of all the children in one church, 40 percent are foster children.

D. OCCUPATION. Out of a total labor force of 37,880, 94 percent of these (or 35,802) were gainfully employed. In Bronx and Mount Vernon, more people were employed as craftsmen and operators than in any other occupational category. In Yonkers, however, the majority of employed was in the clerical-sales category. Of the four occupational categories, the unskilled worker was the smallest. Deviation from this pattern is seen in Mount Vernon where the unskilled out-numbered the professional-managerial class by 48.1 percent.

E. EDUCATION. Median grades completed in Bronx is 9.3, in Yonkers 11.1, and in Mount Vernon 9.5. This compares with median grades completed in the United States of 9.4, and in New York City of 9.4.

F. ETHNIC GROUPS. Out of a total population reported in the 1950 Census of 90,778, 16,949 (18.7 percent) were foreign born. Among the foreign born, Italians constituted 44.2 percent, Germans 13.5 percent, Northern Irish 10 percent, and England, Wales, and Scotland 5.5 percent. Italians and those of Italian ancestry are numerically preponderant in Mount Vernon. According to one of the interviewees, it is impossible to get elected for public office in Mount Vernon unless a candidate can appeal to this ethnic constituency.

The non-white population in the total study area constituted 8.2 percent (7,459). As Table VIII indicates, Mount Vernon has the largest percentage of non-whites (18.7 percent) within its population. Mount Vernon is the only area where the non-whites outnumber the foreign born. The non-white population in Bronx and Yonkers is negligible, and far below the foreign born constituency. Of the total non-white population in the study area, 96.7 percent are to be found in Mount Vernon, and these are concentrated south of Fourth Avenue and east of Third Street. The non-white population is primarily colored. It is reasonable to suppose that the next census figure will show an increase in the colored population

in Mount Vernon, although it may be that much of the changes occurring had already been completed by 1950.

Ethnic group figures were available neither from the Public School Department of Mount Vernon, nor of Yonkers. In the Bronx area, however, out of a total enrollment of 2,503 students in five public schools, 5.9 percent were children of Negroes, and 1.7 percent children of Puerto Rican parents. Public schools 16 and 87 are closest to St. Mary of the Angels Episcopal Church. These two schools show an enrollment of 130 Negro children and 38 Puerto Rican children in 1957 (8.6 percent and 2.5 percent of the total population respectively), a relatively high concentration for the Bronx section of the study area.

The Puerto Rican population is a growing population in the area. But because Puerto Ricans comprise such a small proportion of the total population, they are not easily observable. El Diario De Nueva York, a Puerto Rican language daily had a circulation in New York City of 28,000 in 1953. Today, the circulation has climbed to 58,000, and 29,000 copies are distributed in Bronx. The El Diario circulation tells nothing about the Puerto Rican population in the study area, but one interview indicated some Puerto Rican migration here. This is confirmed by the school report.

A religious census taken in the fall of 1957 by two churches in Woodlawn discovered that between 90-95 percent of the population is Roman Catholic in preference or affiliation. In Yonkers, an estimate by a public administrator places the figure at 60 percent. The 1956 study by the Yonkers Council of Churches gives 45.7 percent of the total population as being actually connected with the Roman Catholic Church in the south-eastern section of Yonkers. This is compared with 5.7 percent for Protestants,

15.7 percent for Jews, and 32.9 percent unaccounted for or attending elsewhere.*

It is impossible to estimate the Jewish composition in the study area. But a reliable agency has estimated 475,000 Jews to be living in Bronx in 1955, constituting 31.7 percent of its total population. Right in the study area, an interviewee has observed that many of the occupants of new residences are Jews. About 5 percent of the residents in Woodlawn are Jews according to the survey by the two churches in Woodlawn. Though apparently small, it is larger than the Protestant proportion.

In Yonkers, a reliable estimate places the Jewish population at 23,000 (or 13.7 percent) of the total population. In the South East area the estimate places the Jewish percentage at 15.7 percent. The Yonkers Council of Churches summarizes the Jewish aspect of its findings thus:

One of the problems facing the Protestant churches in Yonkers is the rapid increase in population of persons of Jewish religious observance or cultural involvement such that they are not amenable to evangelization. (p. 16)

IV. Population Mobility and Trends.

By mobility is meant population movement, or horizontal mobility. The important question regarding population movement in this study is "What changes occur in the population as people move from one place to the other--as old residents move out and new people come in?" This question cannot be adequately answered without substantial research. By approaching the question from many angles, however, it may be possible to indicate in general terms the changes which appear to be taking place. Some aspects of the change were discussed under the section on ethnic group.

* Statistical Information on Yonkers, New York, 1956, published by the Yonkers Council of Churches. Cf. pp 31f.

A. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE. Based on a 20 percent sample, the Census Report enumerates the number of people who were living in the same residence for more than a year. According to the Census figures, 90.6 percent in the study area lived in the same house one year prior to the Census in 1950. This figure does not differ significantly from that of New York City, which reported 89.8 percent. Mount Vernon and Yonkers revealed a higher rate of mobility than Bronx, as indicated in Table X. What these figures seem to indicate is that the people who move into the study area come to stay.

B. COMPARISON OF POPULATION DATA. Practically no changes in the non-white population has occurred in Yonkers between 1940-1950. As Table XI shows, while the total population increased by 1,649, the colored population decreased by 1. The 1957 breakdown was not available, but nothing was discovered in the study which might indicate a change in the ratio of the non-white population. The total population increased by 2,650.

The 1940 Census of Mount Vernon was not enumerated by census tracts, and the 1957 figures were unavailable. A comparison in the live births for different years may indicate the change taking place. A rough comparison between 1947 and 1952 indicated some change, but little between 1952 and 1954. Of course, if the new people moving into the area come with established homes, with children already born, as observation seems to indicate, the change will not be reflected in the live births data.

In Bronx, change in the non-white population between 1940-1950 was negligible. But between 1950-1957, there was an increase from 213 to 475 (a difference of 262) out of a total population increase of 2,070 (from 42,582 to 44,652). Thus, while the combined population had increased by 4.8 percent, the non-white population had increased by 123 percent. To state this another way, between 1950 to 1957, one out of

every seven new residents in the Bronx study area was non-white.

Although the non-white element is proportionately small, it is a growing one, and the growth began sometime after 1950.

C. SIGNIFICANCE of the POPULATION CHANGE. In Yonkers, Woodlawn and the eastern part of the Bronx, the people taking up residences appear to be those affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. In Table IX, it is noted that figures for Public School No 15 was included in the enrollment figures for Public School No 87. The reason for this is that P.S. 15 has experienced a declining enrollment due to the exodus of residents with children in that school and the arrival of new residents sending their children to the Parochial School conducted by the Roman Catholic Church, Nativity of Our Blessed Lady. A Protestant minister in this area estimates that four out of every five new residents are Roman Catholics, and that most of those leaving are Protestants. The minister of a church in the central section of Bronx also observes that the population movement in his parish brings a decline in those who could be receptive to the Protestant message.

Mobility in Mount Vernon tells another story. The Catholics and Jewish elements are not entering into this area. Together, with their white Protestant brothers, they are moving out to make room for the colored population. Thus, while mobility is much more accelerated in Mount Vernon, the new element consists of those who are traditionally receptive to the Protestant message.

V. Other Community Data

It was not possible to gather data on delinquency and general community disorganization. It was earlier observed that the widowed and divorced do not comprise an alarming proportion of the population. It

was further pointed out that the high count of foster children in Mount Vernon tends to complicate the social pattern. What needs to be said here is that a high percentage of colored people moving into the Mount Vernon study area is of middle class. The significance of this is that the colored people tend to be highly responsive and responsible. A comment was made in one of the interviews that colored people tend to take better care of their houses than whites. This might be a generalization, but it might indicate the fact that the colored people come to stay while the white people in Mount Vernon are anxious to move out and thus are reluctant to spend too much in upkeeping and repairing their residences.

There seems to be a very low rate of delinquency in the study area. In spite of the high mobility, there seems to be good relations among the people of diverse faiths and ethnic backgrounds. Even where Roman Catholic succession is most accelerated, Protestants mingle freely with them. Many Roman Catholic children join their Protestant friends in youth meetings and canteens sponsored by the Protestant church. Most of the ~~white~~ Protestant churches have welcomed colored members into their fold and are carrying on what appears to be a successful integrated program.

VI. Religious Data

At least forty-five churches of various backgrounds serve the study area. Some of the churches listed are outside the boundary, but have been included because of their proximity to the area and because of the assumption that they draw much of their resources from the area itself. All the churches listed in Bronx and Yonkers are churches of established

denominations, while most of the churches in Mount Vernon are sects.

Membership statistics were taken from published Year Books. But because membership is defined differently by different denominations, and because membership records are not kept in a uniform way among the different denominations, the statistics must be regarded as approximations or estimates. Since this study is not primarily interested in a comparison of statistics between the churches, but rather, in a chronological comparison with the same churches, the difference in enumeration is not critical. This is not to minimize the hazards in all statistical enumeration, especially by churches. Interviews with ministers point out some variation in the statistical picture of the churches from that found in Year Books.

A rapid survey of the churches indicates that most of the established denominational churches have been profoundly and adversely affected by the changes taking place in the community during the last fifteen years. Seven churches reporting a total membership of 2,726 in 1940, reported a membership of 2,016 in 1956, a loss of 711 members, or more than one-third. The turnover is not indicated in the statistics, but many churches have experienced a high percentage of turnover. In one church, only 50 percent of those on the membership roll in 1950 remain. In another church, with 400, a large-scale community exodus has left the church with only 130 members in 1958. Thus, while the net loss may be one third, the actual number lost through population movement within the last fifteen year period may be as high as 100 percent. The only churches which seem not to be adversely affected by the population change are the Lutheran and Catholic churches. Saint Barnabas Roman Catholic Church

experienced an increase of 3,886 during the five-year period 1950-1955.

This represents a gain of 63.4 percent on its 1950 membership.*

Except for Bernadotte Church on the eastern end of Bronx, the other Lutheran churches seem to have been able to stand up to the changes in population. Bernadotte has suffered from the new non-Protestant population coming into its area, and has experienced disappointments in its leadership. It has been without a resident pastor for the last year and its members are drifting. Redeemer Lutheran Church, on the other hand, is considered the strongest Protestant church in the area. Quite likely, the relatively strong position of the Lutheran churches is due to the large German element in the foreign born population.

It may be generalized, not without good foundations, that the Protestant churches in Bronx and Yonkers are undergoing a very crucial and agonizing period in their existence. Many pastors are extremely pessimistic over what, in their minds, the future forebodes--namely, a continued decline in the opportunity and the ability to carry on an effective witness.

The denominational churches in Mount Vernon, on the other hand, are confronted by a somewhat different problem. Here, as in Bronx and Yonkers, many of their members leave. But their places int the community are being filled by colored people. The crucial question in this area is whether or not the churches can adjust to the color change taking place. Most of the denominational churches have responded to the challenge and, in the face of some internal criticisms, carry on an effective integrated ministry. One originally all-white church had a 1958 membership of 35 per-

* Yonkers Study, p 18.

cent Negroes and a church attendance made up almost equally of the two groups.

The Mount Vernon study area is complicated by the presence of a variety and an abundance of churches. Of the forty-five churches in the study area, twenty-seven are in Mount Vernon. Most of these are concentrated in the southern boundary of Mount Vernon, as the spot map indicates. According to one minister, "There is an adequate number of churches to meet the needs of the community, but there are too many small, sect-type churches." A more sober reflection might conclude that even the denominational churches are too numerous.

VII. Summary and Tentative Conclusions.

A. This quick study of the parish of St. Mary of the Angels Episcopal Church indicates that should the changes in population which have been taking place within the last fifteen years continue along projected trends, the Protestant Churches will be even more adversely affected than they have been. South of the Mount Vernon border down to 233rd Street appears to be a pocket into which the colored population has not yet entered in any numerical force. With an overwhelming colored population northeast of this pocket, probably seventy-five percent, and a growing colored population in the south, it seems likely that in time the white pocket will be filled with non-whites. Should this happen, St. Mary of the Angels' parish area east of Bronx River will be highly mixed. This means that in time the colored population will balance the non-Protestant white population currently occupying the area. Protestant Churches responding to the challenge of color might then begin to see new life. For the next few years, however, the situation in the study area can only be dismal. And, for those churches too rigid to

make the color adjustment, the situation in the study area might be hopeless.

B. The apparent futility of the present situation is reflected in the leadership. Although extensive interviews with Protestant pastors were impossible, in cases where contacts were established, a rather sober attitude bordering on pessimism seemed to prevail. Some tried to see hope in the situation, but not convincingly. Co-mingled with this attitude of hopelessness, was the feeling of helplessness and of fatigue. "What can be done which hasn't already been tried?" Of course, no one raised this question in precisely this form, neither did anyone reveal despair in unambiguous language. It may be that the researcher is reading too much into the attitudes and feeling tones of those interviewed, but that everyone interviewed was sober about the future is unquestionable.

C. One immediate need which quickly became apparent during the course of the study was the need for fellowship among the religious leaders. There is practically no communication nor interpenetration of ideas nor any mutual assistance and sustenance between the churches and ministers. One interview has turned up a case where a minister in a church a few blocks away from another church did not even know the minister of that church. There is dire need for an interfaith ministerial fellowship of some sort. Lacking such a fellowship, Bronx ministers are going into Mount Vernon in search for it along denominational lines. This gives rise to the hypothesis that the really significant churches are across the border in Mount Vernon. And yet, the problems in Mount Vernon are not quite the same as the problems in Bronx, as this study indicates.

D1. An association of ministers and churches in this area might well ponder the question of the sheer proliferation of Protestant Churches in this area and the "diminishing returns" effect of the excessive number of churches. The Protestant Episcopal Church, for instance, is represented by seven churches within a one-mile radius. Although these churches appear to be well placed, what the Episcopalian could do is to begin thinking in terms of a more unified ministry within its own denomination. This might have various practical implications. The first would be a more extensive study of the church-community relationship than was possible under this project. Such a study might indicate the value of combining the administration of some of its churches and providing types of ministry not now utilized. It might also indicate a merger of at least four of the churches.

D2. Unification of ministry might also be undertaken along interdenominational lines. The idea of a Protestant "parish ministry" where at least one Protestant Church is left in a strategic area has much much to recommend itself in an area such as this. The community of Woodlawn has three Protestant Churches with an additional church right across the border in Yonkers. At one time, no doubt, the denominations responsible for the churches in Woodlawn felt a definite need for those churches. That need is no longer felt in the same way. George H. Hobart, in a report of a special investigation conducted in this area in 1939 wrote: "...had comity been followed through, the Presbyterian (church) would not have been built."* Certainly, the Roman Catholic Church, with a few well placed churches in time of

* Filed under "Bronx--North Bronx and Williamsbridge Survey."

lean potential, reaping rich harvests in times of high potential, tells Protestants much about economy, efficiency, and effectiveness in church administration. In any case, forty-five churches within a one-mile radius are just too many churches.

E. It would appear that in an area which is changing very rapidly or on the verge of some major change, a church with its minister not closely associated with the community will miss much of its opportunity to understand and to serve the community. This means that the concept of witnessing for Christ ^{must} be considered in relation to the idea of service to the community. Some churches in the study area are trying to meet youth needs; others experiment along working with minority groups; still others serve the community by organizing and working with various community organizations like the home owner's league. It seems clear that the needs of a changing community can only be met by churches acquainted with the problems of the community on first hand, through their leaders.

VIII. Implications for St. Mary of the Angels. The general summary and tentative conclusions in the previous section have implications for St. Mary of the Angels Episcopal Church situated in the center of the study area. Because the researcher was asked not to give any indication that a study of that church was being conducted, he purposely refrained from any contacts with that church. Not having worked directly with the church, the researcher cannot make any specific recommendations about St. Mary, especially on the question of whether or not its ministry should be discontinued in this area. Furthermore, community and population trends can never be established accurately. Too many trends have been subsequently contradicted by the hard facts of history. What seems clear is that if the church is to continue, it must relate itself

more positively and closely with the life of the community. But even this is no guarantee that it will be able to survive the changes taking place within its neighborhood.

A Postscript. A staff representative of the Department of Church Planning and Research of the Protestant Council of the City of New York will be ready to meet with Diocesan authorities to clarify and elaborate any of the findings presented in this report.

TABLE I AGE - SEX DISTRIBUTION

AGE	YONKERS*		BRONX		MOUNT VERNON		TOTAL - BOTH SEXES
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
85 plus	18	30	50	84	59	87	328
75 - 84	111	128	337	492	312	480	1860
70 - 74	108	144	475	554	399	480	2160
65 - 69	187	226	701	799	587	721	3221
60 - 64	314	259	1047	1019	780	813	4232
55 - 59	435	385	1320	1280	955	938	5313
50 - 54	505	501	1483	1592	1157	1211	6449
45 - 49	510	502	1556	1683	1227	1381	6859
40 - 44	441	524	1711	1848	1382	1507	7413
35 - 39	381	447	1599	1925	1474	1758	7584
30 - 34	376	393	1488	1717	1512	1727	7213
25 - 29	484	417	1519	1694	1684	1882	7680
20 - 24	360	402	1630	1587	1328	1704	7011
15 - 19	384	364	1211	1336	1143	1304	5742
10 - 14	492	493	1216	1226	1202	1085	5714
5 - 9	438	412	1358	1523	1373	1335	6439
under 5	526	480	1786	1736	1901	1801	8230
TOTAL	6070	6107	20,487	22,095	18,475	20,214	93,448
MEDIAN	35.4		34.0		35.1		

*Based on 1950 Census. Others are from 1950 Census.

TABLE II DWELLING UNITS

DWELLING UNITS	BRONX	%	YONKERS	%	MOUNT VERNON	%	COMBINED AREA
Total Dwelling Units	12,472		2,773		11,536		26,781
Owner Occupied	4,450	36	1,366	49	2,915	25	8,731
Renter Occupied	7,919	63	1,372	40	8,030	70	17,321
5 Dwelling Units and Over	4,292	34	693	25	4,268	37	9,253
Year Built - Number Reported	12,090		2,750		11,075		25,915
Built before 1919	2,040	17	685	23	7,705	70	10,370
Median Rent	\$49.58		\$52.76		\$43.54		\$48.63

TABLE III INCOME

	BRONX	YONKERS	MOUNT VERNON	TOTAL
Up to \$999	1,215	155	1,855	3,225
1000 - 2,499	1,630	310	2,700	4,640
2,500 - 3,999	3,835	585	3,875	8,295
4,000 - 6,999	4,100	1,065	3,215	8,380
\$7,000 - Above	1,285	500	850	2,635
Not Reported	545	150	730	1,425
TOTAL	12,610	2,765	13,225	28,600
MEDIAN	2,644	4,929	3,294	

TABLE IV MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	BRONX		YONKERS		MOUNT VERNON		COMBINED AREAS		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	Male	Female	TOTAL
Over 14 of age	16,129	17,823	3,567	3,809	14,205	16,199	33,901	37,831	71,732
Single	4,023	4,161	907	811	3,748	3,980	8,678	8,952	17,630
Married	11,359	11,526	2,511	2,548	9,768	10,014	23,638	24,088	47,726
Div. or Wid.	747	2,136	149	450	689	2,205	1,585	4,791	6,376

TABLE V MARITAL STATUS

U.S.A., Manhattan, and Study Area
 Comparative Percentages based on 1950 Census Report

STATUS		U.S.A.	MANHATTAN	COMBINED STUDY AREA	BRONX	YONKERS	MOUNT VERNON
SINGLE	Men	24.0	32.3	25.6	25.0	25.4	26.4
	Women	19.1	27.6	23.7	23.3	21.3	24.6
MARRIED	Men	70.6	60.3	69.7	70.4	70.4	68.8
	Women	66.6	54.7	63.7	64.7	66.9	61.8
WIDOWED/Divorced	Men	5.3	7.4	4.7	4.6	4.2	4.8
	Women	14.3	17.4	12.6	12.0	11.8	13.6

TABLE VI OCCUPATION

	BRONX	YONKERS	MOUNT VERNON	COMBINED AREAS
Persons 14 & over	33,952	3,809	30,404	68,165
Labor Force	18,845	1,079	17,956	37,880
Total Employed	17,938	1,043	16,821	35,802
Professional - Managerial	3,321	199	2,425	5,945
Clerical - Sales	5,595	625	3,823	10,043
Skilled	6,775	133	6,829	13,737
Unskilled	2,055	79	3,592	5,726
Not Reported	192	7	152	351

TABLE VII EDUCATION

	BRONX	YONKERS	MOUNT VERNON	COMBINED AREAS
Persons over 25	27,865	5,840	24,605	58,310
No Schooling	600	65	810	1,475
Elementary	12,690	2,210	10,770	25,670
High School	11,500	2,670	10,190	24,360
College	2,575	815	2,145	5,535
Not Reported	500	80	690	1,270
Median Years Completed	9.3	11.1	9.5	

TABLE VIII ETHNIC GROUP COMPOSITION

	BRONX	YONKERS	MOUNT VERNON	TOTAL
Total Foreign Born	8,752	1,729	6,468	16,949
Italians	3,971	441	3,087	7,499
Germans	1,275	337	681	2,293
Irish (north)	1,014	238	426	1,678
Eng., Wales, Scot.	390	163	380	933
Others & Nonreported	2,102	550	1,894	4,546
Total Population	42,582	9,527	38,689	90,798
white	42,369	9,494	31,476	83,339
non-white	213	33	7,213	7,459

TABLE IX ENROLLMENT and ETHNIC COMPOSITION in the PUBLIC SCHOOLS

SCHOOLS	Total Enrollment	Negro	Puerto Rican	Others	N	P.R.	O
		%	%	%			
Bronx: P.S. 16	723	60	16	647	8.3	2.2	89.5
P.S. 15	Reported together with Public School #87						
P.S. 19	312	1	1	310	.3	.3	99.4
P.S. 68	682	17	4	661	2.5	.6	96.9
P.S. 87	786	70	22	694	8.9	2.8	88.3
TOTAL	2,503	148	43	2,312	5.9	1.7	92.4
Yonkers:							
P.S. 11	809						
P.S. 14	503						
TOTAL	1,312						
MOUNT VERNON		SCHOOL	TOTAL ENROLLMENT		SCHOOL	TOTAL ENROL.	
P.S. 1	864	P.S. 5	580		P.S. 14	460	
P.S. 3	729	P.S. 7	685		P.S. 15	802	
P.S. 4	820	P.S. 10	653		TOTAL	5,593	
			Ethnic Composition Not Given				

TABLE X LENGTH OF RESIDENCE

	Bronx	Yonkers	Mount Vernon	Combined Area
Persons 1 year and over	41,755	9,325	38,265	89,345
Same residence one year and over	39,055	8,385	33,495	80,935
Percentages	(93.5)	(89.9)	(87.5)	(90.6)

TABLE XI COMPARATIVE POPULATION DATA

	BRONX			YONKERS		
	1940	1950	1957	1940	1950	1957
TOTAL	38,861	42,582	44,652	7,878	9,527	12,177
White	38,649	42,369	44,177	7,844	9,494	not given
Non-white	212	213	475	34	33	----

TABLE XI - CONTINUED

	MOUNT VERNON			COMBINED AREA		
	1940	1950	1957	1940	1950	1957
TOTAL	38,689	Not Available	Not Available	-----	90,801	-----
White	31,476	Not Available	Not Available	-----	83,339	-----
Non-white	7,213	Not Available	Not Available	-----	7,459	-----

TABLE XII CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

CHURCHES	1940	1945	1950	1955	1956	1957
BRONX: ---						
1. St. Luke's Methodist	No Report			265	213	
2. Woodlawn Heights Presbyt.	320	390				
3. St. Stephen's Episcopal	309	208		182	177	
4. Good Shepherd Episcopal	433	118	150	280	283	
5. Wakefield Grace Methodist	330	266	277	197		
6. St. Mary of the Angels Epis.	126	137	50	31		
7. Bernadotte Evangelical Luth.						
8. Grace Baptist	400				239	130
9. Redeemer Evangelical Luth.					600	
10. St. Frances of Rome						
11. St. Anthony						
12. Nativity of Our Blessed Lady						
13. Jewish Ctr. of Wkef'ld & Edhw'ld						
YONKERS: ---						
14. St. Mark's Lutheran	316	406	426	473		
15. Dunwoodie Baptist		82	126			
16. St. Mary's Episcopal	203	212	225	210	208	
17. Crescent Place Reformed	242	231	231	219		
18. St. Barnabas Roman Catholic		6130	10016			
MOUNT VERNON: ---						
19. First Baptist						
20. Grace Baptist	112	176	158		115	
21. Macedonia Baptist						
22. Unity Baptist						
23. Trinity Episcopal	926	647	515	529	497	
24. Greek Orthodox						
25. Good Shepherd Lutheran	345	322	256	245		
26. St. Paul's Lutheran	539	451	456	451		
27. Asbury Methodist						
28. First Methodist						
29. Greater Centennial AME Zion						
30. First Reformed					174	
31. Salvation Army Citadel						
32. Seventh Day Adventist						
33. Little Fellowship Un. Am.						
Free Will Baptist						
34. Church of God in Christ						
35. Church of God and Saints of Christ						
36. St. Clements Episcopal						
37. St. Paul's Episcopal						
38. Emanuel Lutheran						
39. Immanuel Evangelical Luth.						
40. Bethel Temple						
41. Apost. Faith Church of God						
42. Church of Our Lord & Savior						
43. Italian Christian						
44. Orthodox Catholic						
45. Timothy A.M.E.						